1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

the two reserves on Wale, Niua belonging to Yato and Uta belonging to Loto, once marked by encircling walls of coral.

The wall (*pa*) surrounding the three land boundaries of Uta (the fourth boundary being the outer beach) was made of slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge, and served not so much to bar entry as to mark off tapu land from land over which all might walk. Those having legitimate business in the reserve were supposed to enter through one of the three gates or breaks in the wall; one (*te pa i te uta*) near the present residency, the second (*te pa i Matala*) at the site of the present watch house at Matala, the third (*te pa i te tukunga vasa*) on the western side.

The stone wall round Niua ran from the head of the western indentation of the lagoon, the present fish pond, northward to the outer beach. There were two gates through this wall, one (*te lauri ulo hi tai*) at the lagoon end of the wall, and the other (*te lauri tua hi tua*) at the outer beach end of the wall. In some symbolism that informants could not clearly remember the lagoon end is called "the belly of the *lauri* (a strong ferocious fish) by the sea", the outer beach end "the back of the *lauri* by the outer beach."

The stone from both walls was freely used to build coral lime houses in the days of the early missionaries.

VILLAGE GUARDS

Village control over reserve food lands was implemented by tapus enforced by supernormal powers of village gods and by a guard of men called *pule*; these tapus were directed against outside villagers all the time and were lifted against home villagers only when it was decided by village council to take food from the reserves. When the tapu was raised the guard or all the people of the village were allowed to go to the reserve to collect a fixed amount of food. Visits to the reserve at other times for the purpose of cultivating talo beds were always by permission of the guard. The gods of each village interested in preserving the reserve from thieves sent sickness and other punishments to those who violated the sanctity of the reserve (p. 311).

Both Yato and Loto villages have a well-organized guard which watches the reserves on Wale throughout the year. Ngake, with no reserve on Wale, does not have an organised guard system. Individual villagers, often older men who are not tied down each day with food-procuring duties, are delegated to watch the reef between Wale and Motu Ko and to examine wayfarers along this reef coming from the direction of Motu Ko to see that they are not smuggling stolen foods into Wale. These single guards also watch canoes on the lagoon coming from the direction of Motu Ko. All Ngake canoes are required to beach at Waletua, where they are examined for contraband articles by older men living at this place before being allowed to land their cargoes elsewhere.

In Loto and Yato, all men who have reached sociological adulthood are drafted for guard duty. In Loto there are about 50 men able to serve as guards. Each guard is composed of about 25 men, serving for one month. Formerly only men served on Loto guard, but in recent years, when it was

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301 proximal end; shank (3) 3⅝ inches long, ¼ inch thick at proximal end, ⅛ inch thick at distal end; each shank ⅜ inch wide at proximal end, ⅛ inch wide at distal end; center shell (2) also of gold-lipped shell, polished smooth; greatest length 4¼ inches, greatest width 3⅜ inches, thickness at hinge ¼ inch, at lip ⅛ inch; at proximal end of each piece of shell two holes drilled with old-time drill, showing crater effect; necklet cord (4) of three-ply braided human hair 2 feet 11½ inches long and averages 3/16 inch in thickness; pendants fastened to necklet cord by length of braid (5) ⅛ inch thick, which passes through holes and is knotted to necklet cord; pendants held apart by stretcher (6) of *ngangie* wood 6¾ inches long, ¼ inch wide, ⅛ inch thick; ends of stretcher notched (7) and fastened to necklet cord by four transverse turns of fine two-ply twisted sinnet cord; turns finished off with circumferential turns between cord and stretcher. *c*, wooden comb (*yolu*) (CB034) with two teeth (*matolua*) made of *ngangie* wood: 9¾ inches long; handle (1) averages ½ inch thick; teeth 5⅛ inches long, ⅜ inch thick at 2, ⅛ inch thick at 3. *d*, comb with three teeth (*matatolu*) (CB035) made of *ngangie* wood; handle round and 1⅜ inches thick at 4; a pronounced shoulder (5) separates handle from short teeth (6) which are 2⅝ inches long and average ¼ inch thick. *e*, earring (*makarorevenga*) of pearl, turtle, and coconut shell (CB140): coconut-shell ring (1) ⅜ inch in inner diameter and 1/16 inch thick, cut through obliquely at 2 so that ends can be opened and slipped through hole in ear lobe; thin plate of golden pearl shell (3), attached to ring, 7/16 inch high, less than 1/16 inch thick; attached to lower plate of pearl shell (5) by figure-of-eight connective of black turtle shell (4) which is 3/16 inch high, ¼ inch wide, and 1/32 inch thick; each half of connective slit (6) so that it may be slipped onto two plates of pearl shell; lower plate of pearl shell (5) 1 inch high and less than 1/16 inch thick.

301 Formerly when both sexes wore long hair, the hair was dressed with
302 wooden combs (fig.19,*c,d*). The two-pronged comb (*yolu matalua*) was used to beat water from the hair after it had been washed; the three-pronged comb (*yolu matatolu*) was used to arrange the hair and sweep it back before tying it together at the back of the head with a strip of pandanus. For ornamentation, the combs were often left in the hair. Though the wooden comb has gone out of use today, most women wear a trade comb as an everyday ornament.

STONEWORK

324 Because of the absence of basaltic stone, Pukapukan stonework is limited to the use of coral (*punga*), coral conglomerate (*koupuku*), and coral pebbles (*kilikili*). Stone is used for paths, seats, walls, house foundations, well facings, fishweirs, graves, religious structures, and tools.

Paths

487 Paths and trails cut through the bush lead from the lagoon side to the outer beach side of the island. When they reach the outer beach, some paths are continued down to the sea and across sharp coral rubble by stepping stones of flat slabs of coral conglomerate placed over the rubble. They enable the fisherman or other visitor to the outer beach to walk to the sea without cutting his feet on the sharp stones.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Stone Seats

Formerly a man might make on the outer beach a stone seat (*tokewe-lenga*) on which to rest in the cool of the evening, eat the evening meal, and sleep. Informants stated that the two Pukapukan voyagers, Tonu and Taea, saw stone seats on the island of Wakaiva and introduced the idea on their return to Pukapuka.

There was apparently much latitude in the way these stone seats were built. Some were built with a stone seat, stone back rest, and a slab at either side for an arm rest; others were made by hollowing out a shallow depression in the sand and facing the bottom and sides of the depression with coral slabs. The sides were inclined at an angle of about 10 to 15 degrees to the bottom; the bottom was at least 6 feet long, and 3 feet wide, wider if a man planned to take wife or sweetheart to sit with him. Other seats were made according to fancy. Each seat was named after its owner and served as a symbol of his prestige. No seats are used today, most of the stones having been used for oven stones; missionary teaching does not countenance the use of stone seats on family outer beaches. Macgregor's statement (20, p. 25) that the idea of these seats was brought to Pukapuka by the people of Yuyaku and that they were used by priests as religious structures for the offering of turtle and fish to the gods received no support from informants who were strongly of the opinion that the seats were places of rest and recreation only.

The stone seat on the southeastern outer beach of Motu Ko, which tradition states was used by the bird man Wutu-ainuma-tai, is now in ruins. The remains of other seats lie close by. The outer beach has been elevated at this place by the piling up of coral gravel through wave action and the ruins of the seats are situated well under the lee of the raised beach. To have been useful as cool resting sites, the seats must have been built before this beach was elevated. The ruins consist of fragments of stone 1 to 2 feet square. The original stone seat, suggested informants, has been gone for many generations, washed away by high seas. A later generation built on the same site, but these seats were mostly destroyed by the seas; those that remained were pulled down under missionary influence.

Walls

Stone walls marking the boundaries of the reserves (p. 33) have now almost disappeared, but remnants of the wall round Uta are to be seen at the place Matala. The wall consists of large slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge. The old gate (*pa*) through this wall still remains. It consists of a gap about 2 feet wide marked on either side by a stone reputed to have been carried there by the warrior Kupolo. One stone is 7 feet wide, 8 inches thick, and 4 feet 8 inches above ground; the other is 7 feet 8 inches wide, 22 inches thick and 4 feet 4 inches above ground. Each stone is set about 3 feet in the ground. The size of the stones, if typical of all the stones forming the wall, indicates the great labor of building the wall.

House Foundations

The use of small coral slabs set on edge to form the boundary of the house platform and the use of coral pebbles to form the house floor is described on page 116.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Stone Implements

324
412 Owing to the scarcity of hard stone, adzes were generally made of *Tridacna* shell; a few were made of imported stone (p. 164). Mallets (*tukituki*) of small, unshaped pieces of coral conglomerate were used to pound caulking material between the seams of the plank canoe. Stones were used for grating taro and for cutting pearl shell (p. 169).

Religious Enclosures

778
346 Religious enclosures (*marae*) on which priests communicated with the gods were round or oval, the form demarcated by a circle of stones placed on edge. Two gaps (*pu*) were left in this circle as entrances to the worshiping place. In the center was the sacred stone (*aau*) of the god. The ground inside the circle was covered with fine white coral gravel.

Today, only traces of several of these religious structures survive. No complete stone representation of a god remains, but informants suggested that this was any large block of unshaped *punga* coral (p. 319). A section of the stone that once represented the goddess Tane, now functioning as a foundation stone for the old copra shed on Loto beach, bears out this information.

Several sites of old religious structures were visited at the place Utupoa on Wale where were formerly situated the enclosures of old Ngake village.
778 Two of these sites were cleared.
172 At the religious structure of the god Te Aleagaua there remain nine stones of undressed coral, each stone approximately 30 inches wide, 16 inches high, and 4 inches thick. The tops of the stones are about 3 inches above ground level. By continuing the outline traced by the stones, it appears that the religious structure was about 12 paces in diameter. Of the stones standing, one is on the eastern rim, three on the northern rim, five on the southeastern rim. A young coconut tree is now growing on the western rim of the structure. A circle of coconut trees is planted round the outside of the rim of this structure as well as round that of the god Tuliliaio. I do not know whether this was formerly the case. To test the levels of the structure, a trench 4 feet deep was sunk across it. The first level was sand and leaf mould. Twelve inches below the surface was the fine gravel that formerly marked the ground level. Below this again was the characteristic sandy gravel of the atoll. Nothing of further interest was turned up by the excavation.

The former religious structure of the god Tuliliaio was also cleared to reveal five stones of about the same size as those on the structure of Te Aleagaua. The enclosure was about 10 paces in diameter.

The two contiguous structures of the gods Tuasilivaka and Te Matuiaina are so overgrown that it was impossible to clear them. Examination of the ground showed that no stones are left on the structure of Tuasilivaka. One stone was left on that of Te Matuiaina. This stone of undressed *punga* coral is rectangular, 24 inches long, 8 inches above the ground, and 6 inches in diameter. Informants traced the outline of the structure. It apparently was oval with a diameter of about 25 paces one way, 13 paces the other.

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

entered the land of the dead and was assigned a post before which it was to sit. Here all the spirits joined in eternal chanting. On the top of her house Ko Leva had a trap in which she caught the wandering spirits of the dead. In her house she had mats which were hung around the walls. If any spirit wandered from its body on Pukapuka and went inside these mats, it could never return and the body would die. The soul is *vaelua*, a term meaning "divided in two parts" in Samoan dialect (10). It has also a second name, *mauli*, the Tahitian term for "ghost or spirit" (16).

It was believed that the spirits lived as people of the island did, and that many of the arts practiced by the Pukapukans were learned from spirits. The making of sennit and the plaiting of lauhala malos were learned from the sennit and malo dropped by two spirits found wandering about Pukapuka. Spirits also brought to Pukapuka the trap that stood on the roof of Ko Leva's house. This was kept on the island until it was presented to some early missionary. According to Frisbie, the birds of Tema Reef between Nassau and Pukapuka Island were considered to be the souls of ancient inhabitants of the two islands.

STONEWORK

Maraes

Every god, including the family gods, had his own marae (*aoanga*) where he was worshiped. The maraes were enclosed by rectangles of coral slabs laid on edge and had a coral slab erected on each. Bunches of coconut leaves (*'iele*) were wrapped around these monoliths when prayers and ceremonies were conducted. No other offerings or human sacrifices accompanied the religious ceremonies. Before each fishing expedition the fishing gods were prayed to and *'iele* were wrapped around the sacrificial stones.

Two stone structures called *watu no'o i Manava Nui* (stone seats of Manava Nui) stand on either side of the bend of the southeastern coast of Motu Koe Islet, high above the sea on a coral embankment washed up by the waves (fig. 2). A tidal wave in 1914 partially destroyed them, leaving only two or three slabs to mark their position.

The western and smaller structure has only two remaining slabs; one is erect and one lies flat on the ground with an end against the base of the other. The slab lying flat on the ground is all that remains of the "seat," and it faces the sea. The second structure, east of the bend in the shoreline, faces inland. It was made of eight or more large coral slabs which now lie scattered about

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

on the ground. The arrangement of slabs was demonstrated by a native (fig. 2). Two erect slabs formed the back, two horizontal slabs the seat, and slabs at each side the arms. The position of other slabs lying scattered on the ground suggests that they once stood on edge and formed a low enclosure.

These "seats" were built by the Eaki people who came to Pukapuka after the first settlement. In the legend of Manava Nui they were the places from which he watched for fish and turtles. The inference is that the Eaki used these structures as maraes for offering turtle and fish to the gods; their priests may have used the erect slabs as backrests, as was customary in the Tuamotus (2).

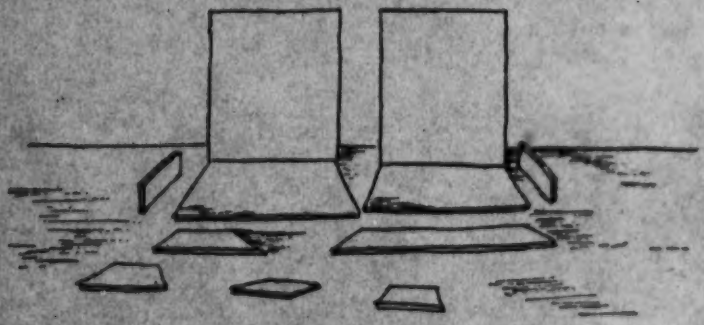

FIGURE 2.—Eastern stone "seat" of Manava Nui, sketch made from a miniature seat constructed by a native Pukapukan.

GRAVES AND BURIALS

The dead were formerly buried in the marae (*aoanga*) of the village. Due to a government order the maraes have been abandoned and houses have been built over them. It was difficult therefore to determine their number or boundaries or to learn their exact purpose in the former life. Some contained graves; others had graves near them. The burial ground of the *ariki* is still preserved. It is now used as a modern cemetery and contains graves of both pre-Christian and Christian times (pl. 1). The coral slabs that once marked the graves of an ancient cemetery at the western end of Aonga on Motu Kotava Islet were washed into the sea by the tidal wave of 1914.

On the southeastern shore of Motu Koe Islet are the graves of two Pukapuka warriors, Tuanua and Titake. Both these graves were dug in pre-European times. That of Tuanua remains intact and is